1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts, ordinarily known by the names, Todanad, Mekanad, Peranganad, and Kundanad, and these districts are recognised by the Todas. The Todanad is the largest district, and is the part where the majority of the Todas live. Their own name for it is Marsâdr. 101 103 131 162

The Mekanad is called by the Todas Karâdr, and is now very sparsely inhabited, though there are many old villages in the district.

The Peranganad is the eastern part of the hills, and is called by the Todas Purgòdr, and is the chief seat of a few of their clans.

The fourth district, or Kundanad, is that already mentioned as the Kundahs in the south-west part of the hills. It is the chief seat of one Toda clan, but it also contains villages belonging to others. It is especially visited in the dry season, since its large rainfall often provides ample pasturage when this is burnt up on other parts of the hills. The Toda name of the district is Mêdr.

A few Todas live near Gudalur in the Wainad, some 3,000 feet lower than the main plateau.

METHODS

The description of Toda life to be given in this book is the outcome of an attempt to apply rigorous methods in the investigation of sociology and religion. In the brief time which was at my disposal, it was essential to employ methods of investigation which would enable me to tell with some certainty whether I was obtaining accurate and trustworthy information. Two great sources of error in anthropological investigation are the dependence on the evidence of only a few individuals and the necessity of paying for information. 121 124

The first source of error was easily avoided, and I was able to obtain my information from a large body of witnesses, usually independently of one another. As regards the second source, the Todas are inveterate beggars, and are now thoroughly accustomed to receive payment for every service rendered to the European, even of the most trivial kind. Payment for information was inevitable, but I 124

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

children under five years of age which I know to be deficient. 128 173

If the number of the Todas now living and recorded in the genealogies be counted, it will be found that there are 736 individuals, 419 males and 317 females. In the census of 1901 the total population is given as 805, 451 males and 354 females. My record falls short of that of the census by 69 individuals, 32 males and 37 females. 601 161 162

Further, when I arrange the people now living according to age, it is found that there is a distinct deficiency in children under five years of age. Thus, my records of age come out as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
Above 65 years.	9	3
61—65 ,,	4	7
56—60 ,,	19	9
51—55 ,,	20	17
46—50 ,,	26	21
41—45 ,,	26	18
36—40 ,,	26	27
31—35 ,,	40	25
26—30 ,,	40	33
21—25 ,,	38	28
16—20 ,,	32	31
11—15 ,,	41	20
6—10 ,,	54	33
5 and under	44	45
Total	419	317

The ages upon which this table is based could only be obtained very roughly, and the figures must be taken merely as rough approximations to the truth. The irregularities of the table may be due partly to this defect, but it is very improbable that there are about the same number of children of five and under as of children between six and ten, and we may be fairly confident that but for omissions the numbers of the youngest group, especially of boys, would have been larger.

I have reason to believe, further, that I have not omitted any appreciable number of adults or children over five years of age. I tested 320 males and 183 females for colour- 125 128

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 probably far more nearly correct, and may even have been too small.

The records have probably been fairly complete since 1866, and if so, they show a falling off in population from this date till the 1881 census. It is, however, possible that the gradual increase in numbers during recent censuses has been due to the greater care taken at each succeeding census. Unsatisfactory as the records are, they seem to point to a diminution of population about the middle of the last century, which ceased between 1880 and 1890, since which time the population has probably increased.

161 Mr. R. C. Punnett[1] has analysed the data furnished by my
162 genealogical records to ascertain the average size of the Toda family. He divided the families recorded in the genealogies into four groups: (A) those where the eldest child would in 1903 be over 90 years of age; (B) those where he would be between 60 and 90; (C) and (D) those where he would be between 30 and 60 and between 0 and 30 respectively. He has recorded the results for Tartharol and Teivaliol separately in the following table.

Group.	Tartharol.			Teivaliol.		
	No. of families.	Average size of family.	♂ s per 100 ♀ s.	No. of families.	Average size of family.	♂ s per 100 ♀ s.
A	9	3·0 [4·2]	237·5	4	4·5 [6·0]	200
B	49	4·2 [5·0]	159·7	21	3·8 [5·4]	259
C	87	3·3 [3·7]	131·4	40	3·8 [5·0]	202
D	104	2·5 [2·8]	129·2	45	2·3 [2·9]	171

The figures in square brackets give the average size of the family for each generation, making allowance for cases of female infanticide, which we shall see presently to be a Toda custom which is almost certainly diminishing in frequency.

The conclusion Mr. Punnett draws from this table is that there has been a marked decrease in fertility during the period covered by the genealogies.

The defects in my record as regards young children make

[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

any conclusions about the last generation very inconclusive, but since the record for very young children is certainly defective, and since many families now existing will certainly increase in size, it is probable that any progressive decrease in the size of a family has now been arrested, and the details of the genealogical record would therefore agree with the Census Reports in showing the presence of a distinct tendency of the Toda population to increase.

None of the previous records have given any indication of the numbers of the two chief divisions of the Toda people. According to my genealogical records, there were living, in 1902, 528 Tartharol and 208 Teivaliol. The defects in my record are probably somewhat greater for the Teivaliol than for the Tartharol, but any difference there may be is certainly not great, and I think we may conclude that, though these figures are not accurate, they represent approximately the true proportion of the numbers of the two divisions. It is quite certain that the Tartharol are more than twice as numerous as the Teivaliol. Mr. Punnett's table does not show any great difference between the two divisions in the average size of the family, so that the proportion between the numbers of the two divisions has probably not altered during the period covered by the genealogical record. It is probable that the Teivaliol have always or for a very long time been the smaller division.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record then agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers.

There can be little doubt that any decrease in the Toda population about the middle of last century was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills. The adverse influences which came into the lives of the Todas probably owe their origin to the large immigration of native servants and to the development of the bazaar. Though Europeans first began to come to the Nilgiri Hills about 1820, it was not till twenty or thirty years later that they arrived in any considerable numbers, so that it was probably the middle of the century

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 177 before the injurious influences made their effects felt to any great effect.

164 842 [273] The especial influences injurious to fertility have probably been syphilis and sexual immorality, for the Todas do not appear to have fallen to any very great extent under the influence of alcohol or opium. They certainly take both, and especially after the market day at the Ootacamund bazaar, I have seen Todas obviously under the influence of drink; but I believe this to have been only an influence of minor importance on the health of the people. Syphilis, on the other hand, has undoubtedly affected them to a considerable extent. At the present time its ravages are not very obvious, though, without looking for it especially, I saw several examples of its effects. There can be little doubt, however, that it has been a potent factor in the past. In a note in a book by A. C. Burnell,[1] it is mentioned that in 1871 thirty-one Todas were treated at Ootacamund for venereal disease, and of these thirty were syphilitic. This means that in one year over 4 per cent. of the total Toda population were treated for syphilis at one place, and we may be fairly confident that all those suffering from the disease did not apply for treatment.

831 842 Another factor working towards the diminution of the population has probably been sexual immorality. I shall have to return to this subject again later, and must be content here to point out that the Toda women have a very bad reputation, though perhaps their laxity is not as great as is usually supposed. Still, there can be little doubt that the women of some villages are extremely immoral, and it is probable that this has distinctly tended to produce sterility.

162 177 842 If the diminution in the size of the Toda family is due to these adverse influences, it should be found to be greatest in those sections of the Toda community which have been most subject to these influences. The best way of throwing light on this question is to compare the fertility of the different clans of the Tartharol. Some of these, such as Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr, and Kanòdrs, either live in outlying parts of the hills or are sufficiently remote from the chief centres of the European population not to have been influenced very greatly.

[1] *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, Mangalore, 1873.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The chief village of the Kars clan is situated close to Ootacamund and has suffered greatly from its neighbours, but many of the villages of the clan are more remote, so that the clan may be put down as one partly influenced. The people of Päm and Nidrsi, on the other hand, are more influenced than any other of the Toda clans, as is shown by the alterations in their villages and the neglect of the ritual of their religion. The villages of the Pämol are, or were, near to Wellington Barracks, and it is certainly the most degenerated of all the Toda clans. The following table, taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, shows the average size of the family in each case, and though the figures are somewhat irregular, they bear out the view that sterility is greater the more the people have come into contact with Europeans and their followers.

Name of clan.	No. of families.	No. of offspring.	Average size of family.	Average size of family for group.
Nòdrs (uninfluenced)	14	54	3·84	3·59
Pan (uninfluenced)	8	21	2·37	3·59
Taradr (uninfluenced)	9	43	4·77	3·59
Kanòdrs (uninfluenced)	11	33	3·00	3·59
Kars (partly influenced)	25	76	3·04	3·04
Päm (much influenced)	10	22	2·20	2·60
Nidrsi (much influenced)	10	30	3·00	2·60

Proportion of the Sexes

The records of the Toda population in the past all show an excess of men over women, and with the exception of the record of Ouchterlony, which is certainly untrustworthy, the excess is considerable. In view of their untrustworthiness no importance can be attached to the records taken earlier than that of 1866, and in the report for that year I have been unable to ascertain the proportions of the sexes. In 1871 there were 140·6 men for every 100 women; in 1881, 130·4 for every 100; in 1891, 135·9, and in the census of 1901, 127·4 men for every 100 women. My figures, derived from the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100
162 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

178 There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All
847 accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the
124 practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time,
521 the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present, and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

162 In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical
177 data show that the excess of men is far greater in the
184 Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still
847 followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

accessory factor may have been the priestly functions of the Teivaliol, which have probably tended to make them more conservative.

Previous writers on the Todas have differed considerably in their accounts of the method of infanticide, and I regret very much that I cannot contribute any facts towards the settlement of the question. The subject was one about which the Todas talked so unwillingly that I made no great endeavours to arrive at the truth. A method which has been commonly attributed to the Todas is that of placing the infant at the gate of the buffalo-pen before this is opened in the morning, the herd rushing out and trampling on the child. Another less likely method has been said to be that the infant is drowned in buffalo milk.

The most probable account is that given to Marshall[1] by an aged Toda, who stated that the child is suffocated by an old woman, who receives a fee of four annas, and that the child is then buried, which, as we have seen, is the method of disposing of the bodies of still-born children.

There is little reason to connect the practice of female infanticide among the Todas with any deficiency in the necessaries for existence. It seems clear that at one time the Todas supplemented their food of milk with berries, roots, &c., but it is improbable that they were ever in such straits for food that they would have resorted to infanticide on this account. Marshall's informant ascribed infanticide to the poverty of his people, but this was probably said in order to excuse the practice.

In an earlier part of this chapter we saw that there is evidence of a former diminution of the Toda population. At the same time we see that there is evidence of a diminution of the practice of female infanticide, which would, of course, tend to increase the population. It would thus seem that there have existed among the Todas, during the last fifty years, certain factors tending to diminish the population and one factor tending to increase it. We may conclude that, but for the diminution of infanticide, the falling off in numbers would have been greater, and that the tendency to increase which

[1] Pp. 194-5.

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TABLE No. III. *Census.*

Mands		Houses					Inhabitants										Particulars regarding Inhabitants	Remarks M = Mands I = Inhabitants
							Male					Female						
Toda Names	Badaga Names	Dwelling Rooms	Dwelling Houses	Sacred Houses	Deserted Houses	Total of Houses	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Grand Total	
Diljâvem .	Karikall .	3	3	2	2	6	1	3	3[1]	4	10	1[a]	2	—	6[b]	9	19	1. Two younger brothers of the married men. One dairyman aged 18 years. 2. Mother of one of the married men and of the dairyman. 3. Two of 12 years of age.	M. Well sheltered and drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kakhodi .	Kakhodi .	2	2	1	1	4	—	3[1]	—	2	5	—	2[a]	—	—	2	7	1, 2. One man and one woman, lately married: hence the small number of children.	M. Well sheltered, but imperfectly drained. Doors face north. I. Tolerably hale, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Beresthro .	Karrathro .	2	1	1	—	2	—	4[1]	—	3	7	—	4[a]	—	1	5	12	1, 2. One father, one mother, two sons, two wives of sons, one daughter, and one husband of daughter. Two of these pairs having lately married, the number of children is small.	M. Not well sheltered or drained. Doors face west. I. Hale, and fairly vigorous. Very poor.
Koana-koar	Koana-korrli .	3	2	1	—	3	—	4	3[1]	3	10	—	4[a]	1[a]	1[b]	6	16	1. Two dairymen. 2. One aunt and two nieces. 3. A cripple from birth, aged 20 years. 4. Aged 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south. I. Healthy, and fairly vigorous. One cripple from birth.
Elgodu .	Elgodu .	4	3	1	1	5	1[1]	4[2]	4[2]	3	12	1[a]	4[b]	—	6[c]	11	23	1. About 85 years. Admitted to this Mand through kindness, having lost his own children and quarrelled with his grandchildren. 2. Aged 16 years. 3. Two are dairymen. 4. About 73 years of age. 5. One in	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Hale and vigorous. Very comfortable. An old man nearly deaf. An infant

Ellaghin	Ellaghin	4	2	1	—	3	2[1]	4	2[2]	6	24	2[2]	4	—	4[2]	10	24	1. Both brothers of one of the married men. 2. One aged 22, engaged to be married. One aged 16, a dairyman. 3. One mother of one of the married men. One mother of two of the married women. 4. Two about 12 years of age. One sister to one of the married men.	M. Much exposed, but well drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Kavakk	Kandal	5	3	0	—	5	—	10	6	4	20	—	10	—	2	12	32	One father, one mother, one married son, one son a dairyman. One father, one mother, one married daughter. Three married sisters. Three women lately married. One woman barren. Three with small families.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Mkamadd	Mardini	3	3	2	2	5	2[1]	6[1]	2[2]	3	12	2[2]	6	—	4	12	23	1. Son of one widow. 2. Four sons of same widow, and two grandsons. 3. Son of same widow, a dairyman. 4. The second widow is mother-in-law of widower; also mother-in-law of one of the grandsons. One a child-marriage.	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face east and south-west. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kankir	Kakheri	3	2	1	—	3	—	6[1]	2[2]	3	12	—	6[2]	—	3	9	21	2. Two are sons of one married woman. One is a son of another married woman. Two are boys, aged 12 and 13. 2. A dairyman, 24 years of age. 3. Two are daughters of one married woman. One is a daughter of another married woman. Two child-marriages.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Poor. A girl squints. A woman blind of one eye from an accident.
Kinho	Kundetro	2	1	1	—	2	—	2	1[1]	2	5	1[2]	2	—	1[2]	4	9	1. A dairyman, 15 years of age. 2. Mother of one married woman and of one married man. 3. One aged 12 years.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south and east. I. Healthy and vigorous, except one man. Comfortable.
Hedkark	Manchakdli	3	3	1	—	4	2[1]	3	1[2]	2	8	—	3[2]	—	1[2]	4	10	1. Father of girl of 14. 2. Dairyman aged 15. 3. One is mother of one of the other married women. 4. Aged nearly 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and vigorous. Comfortable.
		35	25	13	4	42	5	49	22	36	119	7	47	1	29	84	196		

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Before proceeding further, I will review this Census Table, especially selecting those facts which may be useful to us hereafter.

α. We find that Toda males of *all ages*, bear the proportion to females of all ages, of 112 : 84, or of 100 : 75. In a census of the North-west Provinces of India, taken during the year 1866, the proportions between the sexes were found to be as 100 : 86·6. And in the Punjab as 100 : 81·8.[2] In Oudh, the census of 1868-69 taken in ten districts suspected of infanticide, gave 100 : 75·6 of all ages.[3]

β. The male *adults* are to the female adults, as 76 : 55, or as 100 : 72·4.

γ. The male *children* under fourteen years of age, bear to the female children of the same period—ages estimated from their personal appearance—the ratio of 36 : 29, or of 100 : 80·6.

Although, as we find, there is a somewhat larger proportion of females to males among children than amongst adults, I am disposed to attribute the discrepancy either to the score of the limited number of instances which the census contains : or to my having recorded as children, some who should have been accounted adult women.

δ. There is 1 unmarried girl—a cripple from birth—out of 55 adult females, or 1·8 in 100.

ε. There are 22 young men who are said to be unmarried. If we deduct from these 22 adults, the 10 recorded as dairymen ; who, during the term of office, are compelled, through religious usage, to live *en garçon* : we have yet 12 men of marriageable age who are stated in the Table to be leading a single life. From actual knowledge of the people, I form the opinion that these 12 are Benedicts, *de facto*.

[2] Selections from the Records of the Government of India. Foreign Department. Dated 1867.

[3] Statistics deduced from a census of Oudh in 1868-69, relating to female infanticide among Rajput families.

[See pp. 98 and 99, Category M -- Analyse]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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ζ We find there to be 49 undoubtedly married men, and 47 married women.

If this ratio was strictly true, I should be in a position to announce that the practice of polyandry had become extinct. But if to these 49 men, we add the 12 who are married *de facto*, we get 61 husbands for the 47 wives, or the proportion of 100:77. Such, in my belief, is the existing state of polyandry in the tribe—formerly, the discrepancy was perhaps as much as 100:40.

η. The total of the Table gives a return of 196 people; from whom, if we deduct the 10 dairymen who live apart, we find that 186 people, of both sexes and all ages, live in 35 rooms, the dimensions of which we know to be 8ft. by 8ft. each; or 5·3 persons, on an average, in each of such rooms. Such is the average domiciliary condition of the tribe. But in village Mênmadd, 23 are shown to be living in 3 rooms, or 8 in some rooms.

If such be the custom of the people when in a state of health, we can scarcely form a conception of their miserable plight when epidemics arise: but we can at once comprehend how fatal any form of contagious disease is too sure to become, if it obtains a footing in the homesteads of any primitive race. Let this essential condition of savage life make a deep impression on our minds, if we would realise any one of the numerous forms of suffering, hardship, or disaster, to which our forefathers must all, from time to time, have been exposed. Rapidly as intelligence spreads amongst civilised nations in these modern days, through the quick interchange of ideas; we may feel very confident, that in the retirement of mountains, swamps, and jungles, at an era when all mankind was young and inexperienced; isolated tribes each gaining their separate knowledge through means of the repeated hard knocks to which their own ignorance of the working of natural laws had rendered them liable, must have undergone the severest trials.

A perusal of the column in Table No. 3, which affords

1 [See pp 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

A perusal of the Column in Table No. 3 which affords

CHAP. X. particulars regarding the inhabitants, will give a curious insight of the social economy of the Mand. It may be viewed as a house occupied by one family; in each room of which a subdivision of the family lives. If we look closely into the details of—for instance—villages Diljâvenu and Koana-koar, we find in the former, 3 rooms in which live 5 adult men, 3 adult women, 2 girls twelve years of age, besides 8 other children of both sexes. In the latter village are 3 rooms containing 6 adult men, 5 adult women, one of whom is unmarried, 1 girl of fourteen years, with 3 small boys.

The people do not set apart a room as bachelor-hall, as some equally rude tribes do; the Kôls for instance.

I find in a statistical Report of the Nilagiris,[4] submitted in the year 1847 to the Government of that day, that the Todas were then estimated at only 337 people. Owing, perhaps, to the low figure at which the number is fixed; partly also to the existence of certain mistakes, which have of late been discovered in the names and positions assigned to certain villages, an impression exists that the data are not to be entirely relied upon. But the record, given as found in the carefully compiled Report, is, I believe, not very incorrect. No census having been published since 1847, I am indebted to the kindness of the late Commissioner of the Nilagiris,[5] for the most reliable statement of the number of the Todas, extant. Mr. Breeks believes that in the year 1867 they amounted to 455 males and 249 females, of all ages; giving a total of 704 souls.

8. Referring to the Census Table of 11 villages of various sizes; it appears that there are 112 males + 84 females = 196 souls in those Mands, or 17·82 as the average number in each. Of these 112 males, 49 + 22 = 71 are in the prime of life.

[4] Captain J. Ouchterlony, Madras Engineers, 'Statistical Report of the Nilgherry Hills. 1847.'

[5] Mr. J. Breeks.

1 [See pp. 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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The precise number of Mands occupied at any one time, has not been ascertained, but the best authorities consider them to be not less than 40. Hence, by a short calculation, we find that the tribe consisted, in 1870, of not less than 407 males + 306 females, or 713 souls; of whom 258 were men in the prime of life.

Now, if the Report from which I have just quoted,[1] should be correct, it would appear that the tribe has more than doubled in about 23 years; and the opportunity, has been lost to me; of witnessing the process, and of ascertaining the causes, by means of which a race may die out. With every desire for the happiness of existing Todas, I still grieve to have been deprived of the interesting study.

It is very much to be lamented that no vital statistics exist of the people: and that such as I have been able to collect, cannot be depended upon, absolutely; being merely approximate.

1. Of the 196 people found noted in the [illegible]s Table,[2] I ascertained by personal inspection that there were only 2 cases of natural malformation; viz., in the village of Koanakoar, a young woman who was a cripple from birth: in Keshkir, a girl squinting with one eye.

2. Only 3 people possessed defects that would either tend to shorten life or to evidence the probability of its soon drawing to a close; viz., in Ebgodu, a man nearly deaf and blind from old age: in the same village an infant with a skin disease: and in Kirzho, a middle-aged man in bad general health.

Many were scored on the shoulder as a remedy for rheumatism. One woman was in quarantine after child-birth. And one woman was blind of an eye from a spark of fire having flown into it. It is said that contagious disease is not uncommon, but I am greatly disposed to doubt the statement, as applied to the present day. None came before me marked by smallpox. A case of leprosy was met with; but as the

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[1] [See p. 102, category 116 -- Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 98 and 99, category 116 -- Analyst]

In paragraph (a) of the last Chapter, I showed that the

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Toda males of all ages bear to the females, the proportion of 100:75; and the correctness of this statement is somewhat confirmed by the ratio in adults and in children, given in paragraphs (β) and (γ) bearing a similar discrepancy. This excess of males is a very striking fact, and its truth may be accepted without doubt or mental reserve. I think we cannot quite account for the universal paucity of females without acknowledging, either that infanticide is, or has recently been practised to a very sensible extent: or that more boys are *born* than girls.

To what cause may we attribute this wide departure in nature, from those of her well-established laws; by the operations of which, equality between the sexes, is, within certain limits of divergence, known to be preserved, in all countries of whose population we have accurate knowledge? If we are disposed to describe the cause, in some general expression, as 'race peculiarity,' we still cannot be satisfied with less than the discovery of the physiologic reason for such eccentricity. We note the food and clothing, the mode of life, the climate; and fail to see sufficient reason for ascribing what we seek to any such origin. In fact, as regards the Todas, we can with certainty pronounce, that in only two respects can their surroundings be considered to differ widely in an important manner, from that of vast masses of mankind to whom great variation between the sexes has never been traced; viz., in their marriage system, and in the practice of infanticide.

We have learnt that relationship is, with the Todas, intimate far beyond that witnessed in any country approaching civilisation. Intimate to such a degree, that the whole tribe, where not parents and children, brothers and sisters, are all first-cousins, descended from lines of first-cousins prolonged for centuries. Let me show emphatically and distinctly that such is in truth the case. The tribe consists of about 713 persons, divided between 5 clans; of which

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

two are almost extinct. The remaining three clans, being nearly of equal number, must contain about 200 members of all ages each. But one of them—the Peiki clan—marries solely within itself. Hence, this small body of 200 people have intermarried from time immemorial. And the intercourse must have become very promiscuous. I do not attribute disparity between the sexes to this close intercourse; but it is interesting to review the primitive practice, as a custom connected with the paucity of numbers arising from infanticide, and with the polyandrous habit which is found in junction with it.

In future chapters we shall see that the practice of infanticide as observed by the Todas, was the habitual destruction of all daughters in every family, except one or sometimes two. And we know that the average size of Toda families is 6 children born to each woman.

Now let us for the purpose of illustration take three families as representing an average of the entire tribe; say that one mother gives birth to 6 daughters and no sons: a second mother has 6 sons only, whilst the third mother has 3 sons and 3 daughters. The first mother—following the tribal custom—destroys 4 daughters and preserves 2. The second retains her 6 sons. The third kills 2 daughters and keeps 1, as also her 3 sons. We have then, from the three families, 9 sons and 3 daughters with which to continue the breed. But whilst the males belong to families in which the tendency to produce sons is great, the females are of those of a converse inclination. Thus the bias strengthens with each generation, until, as we find, families grow to have habitually more sons than daughters. This habitude *outlasting the depraved practice which caused it*, indurates more or less, into a fixed characteristic of the people: and *a male-producing variety of man is formed*.

In presenting Table No. 4, containing what I have termed 'Statistics of Toda Families,' to the indulgence of my readers,

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TABLE No. IV. *Statistics of Toda Families.*

No. on the List	Name of Mands	Wives			Husbands				Children						Remarks
									Apparent ages of those alive		Probable ages of those dead, and the number of years since dead.				
		Clan	Apparent present age	Probable number of years since married	Clan	Apparent ages of those alive	Probable ages of those dead, and number of years since dead	Degree of relationship to one another	Males	Females	Males		Females		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
1	Diliyerm	T6li	27	13	T6li	25	—	—	Brothers	4	13	—	—	—	—	Child-marriage.
2	"	"	25	12	"	25	—	—	"	11	9	—	3	—	—	There is a fourth brother to these three husbands, aged 18; the village dairyman. Child-marriage.
3	"	"	9	16	"	D	27	6	Brothers	12	12	—	—	—	—	This woman was put away by her first husband, in order that he might marry his brother's widow. She was not living with her deceased husband's brothers, but with her own sons.
4	"	"	25	8	"	7	—	—	Brothers	5	5	2	2	2	2	
5	"	"	6	2	"	5	—	—	"	3	2					
6	"	"	D	1	"	D	25	11	No.	—	—	—	—	1	1	
7	"	"	D	1	"	D	25	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mother died in first travail. Sex of child—which died—not known.

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Twins. This woman died five years ago. On her death the two widowers married a woman (6) known to have been barren all her life; and there have not since been any births. Having already a family, they married for the sake of having some one to cook. Barren.	Not pregnant. Pregnant. Not pregnant.	Pregnant. The husband has a brother aged 18; the village dairyman. One female child is a cripple from birth. The husband has no brother. The husband has a brother, aged 24; the village dairyman.	This widow says she never had more than one husband.
Brothers	Brothers		
Eldest	Eldest	Eldest	Eldest

No. on the List	Name of Mands	Wives			Husbands				Children						Remarks
		Clan	Apparent present ages	Probable number of years since married	Clan	Apparent ages of those alive	Probable ages of those dead, and number of years since dead	Degree of relationship to one another	Apparent ages of those alive		Probable ages of those dead, and the number of years since dead				Notes.—No. 3 column has been determined either by reference to age of oldest child, or where the period was manifestly short, from the woman's own statement. The remaining columns are the result of vivâ voce examination of parents, or of personal inspection.
									Males	Females	Males		Females		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
18	Elgola	Peiki	35	17	Peiki	40	—	—	Brothers	16 10	14 12	—	—	4	12	
19	"	"	30	11	"	35	—	—		—	10 3 ½	—	—	—	—	These two husbands have a younger brother, aged 38; the village dairyman.
20	"	"	19	2	"	16	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant. Child-marriage. Wife older than husband.
21	Bengala	"	30	34	"	D	?	3		28 26	30	3	15	18	13	This man had three younger brothers, married and living in different mands.
22	"	"	45	21	"	D	?	2		16 14 13	20 18	1	7	2 2	8 9	This man had four brothers, who died; one as a child, three married separately.
23	"	"	42	23	"	30	—	—		22 14	12 3	1 1	7 5	—	—	This man has two brothers, widowers, living in the same mand.
24	"	"	20	7	"	28	—	—		1½	2	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant. Child-marriage.
25	"	"	18	1	"	23	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant.
26	"	"	28	10	"	25	—	—		8½	—	—	—	—	—	This man has a brother, aged 23, married in another mand.

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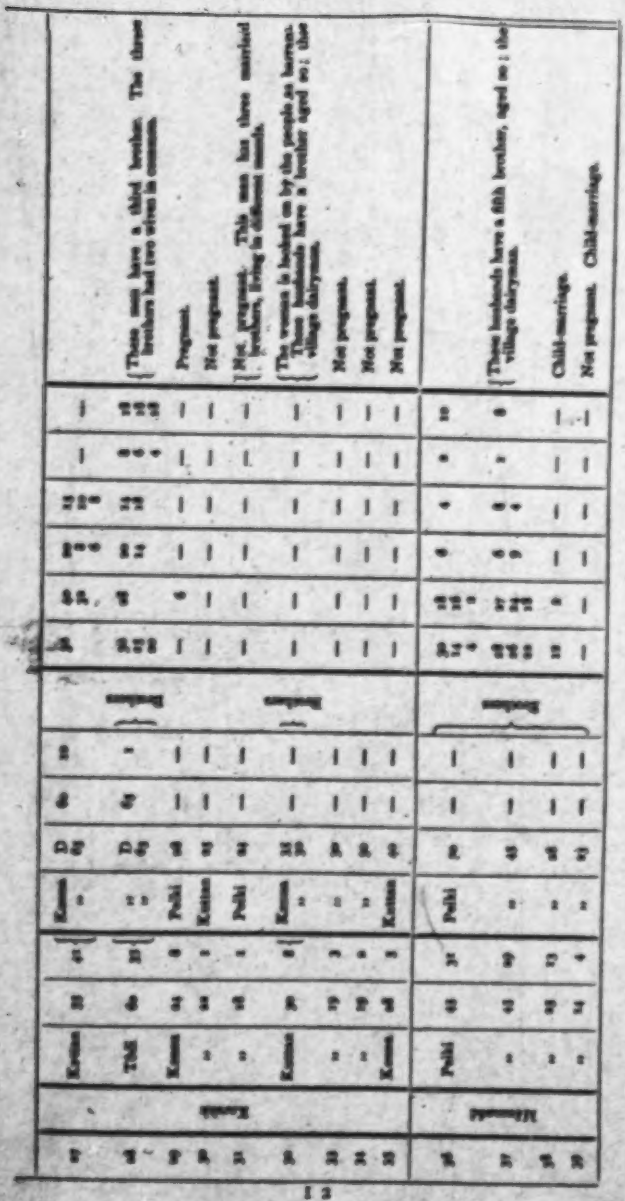

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No. on the List	Name of Mania	Wives: Clan	Wives: Apparent present ages	Wives: Probable number of years since married	Husbands: Clan	Husbands: Apparent ages of those alive	Husbands: Probable ages of those dead, and number of years since dead	Husbands: Degree of relationship to one another	Children: Apparent ages of those alive: Males	Children: Apparent ages of those alive: Females	Children: Probable ages of those dead, and the number of years since dead: Males	Children: Probable ages of those dead, and the number of years since dead: Females	Remarks	Child-marriage.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
1	Mohanadi	Paikl	22	11	Paikl	32	30	Brothers	4	—	—	6	Nos. 1 to 5 inclusive are Mohanadi's children.	
2			27	16		37	—		1	1	1	1		
3			28	17		40	—		1	1	1	1		
4			32	21		45	—		12	12	11	11		
5			34	23		47	—		13	13	12	12		

Remarks

Nos. 1 to 5 inclusive are Mohanadi's children.

Nos. 1 to 5 inclusive are Mohanadi's children.

Nos. 1 to 5 inclusive are Mohanadi's children.

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The daughter died in her first travail. Sex of child, which died, not known. The husband has a brother married in another mand. Child-marriage.	This husband had three younger brothers who died in childhood.	This husband has a brother married in another mand.	Child-marriage.	Child-marriage.	This man had a brother, who died young.	Not pregnant. Looked on by the people as barren.	Pregnant. Child-marriage.	Not pregnant.	This husband had three brothers, who died young.	Not pregnant. This husband has a brother married in another mand.	Child-marriage. This husband has a brother married in another mand.
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
4	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	4	1	1
3	1	2	1	1	3	1	2	1	3	2	1
5	2	2	2	1	4	1	3	1	3	2	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	3	3	2	2	5	2	2	2	3	2	2
Kanna	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Pehi	1	1
3	3	2	1	1	3	2	2	1	3	2	2
4	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	2
Tehi	Kanna	1	Kanna	1	Tehi	Kanna	1	Tehi	1	Pehi	Kanna
Pregnant.					Pregnant.				Pregnant.		
4	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	2

it is advisable to mention, that although as much patient care was taken to collect the evidence it contains, with the same accuracy as that bestowed on the Census, yet there are reasons why it could not be attained. For the latter purpose the people were nearly all present; whereas in the process of collecting statistics, dependence had, in the main, to be placed on the statement of uneducated people describing births and deaths, many of which took place long years before. Supposing even they remembered in all cases the number of each sex that died, they would still have to represent their own notions of the ages at which they did so, and the period that had elapsed since those events happened. All, therefore, that can with confidence be asserted, is, that the best was done in the face of these inevitable difficulties to eliminate error.

For instance—and one will suffice—if it was required to ascertain the particulars of a child who had died. The mother was present; the husband also sat close by. Some relation, also present, had a wife, or husband, or child, as the case might be, who had been a playfellow of the departed. Or the child was said by its mother to have been either so much older or so much younger than one standing before us.

For the sake of those who wish to utilise the statistics, Table No. 5 has been compiled from Table No. 4[1] which will render it easy to extract the most valuable points of information.

In order to obtain reliable data on which to base deductions as to Toda nature and Toda progress, it seems a matter sufficiently important, to record with all the exactness that available information admits of, certain averages relative to the size of families, and the ages at which their women commence and also leave off child-bearing. The details of these points of information, collated from Tables No. 4 or 5, will, therefore, be found tabulated in Nos. 6 and 7 Tables. A point has been made, not to omit any of the instances of Table 4 or 5, that might prove of value; only the women in child-marriages, or those who having lately married, have not yet given birth to progeny, have been left out.

1 [Table No 4 appears on pp. 112-113 Category 116 or 162 --Analyst]

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TABLE No. VIII.

Compiled from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' Table No. IV., in order to ascertain the progress made towards checking Infanticide. Arranged according to the 'present ages of Wives.'

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Present Ages of Wives	No. on the List	Detail: Progeny: Alive M.	Alive F.	Dead M.	Dead F.	Born M.	Born F.	Abstract: Progeny: Alive M.	Alive F.	Dead M.	Dead F.	Born M.	Born F.	Proportion of females to 100 males: A.	D.	B.	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
65	4	2	2	2	2	4	4										
65	53	2	2	5	1	7	3										
60	5	3	2	0	0	3	2	14	7	9	8	23	15	50	88·9	65·2	
60	6	4	0	0	2	4	2										
60	28	3	1	2	3	5	4										
55	27	1	2	3	0	4	2										
55	43	4	1	2	2	6	3										
55	49	3	1	1	0	4	1	17	9	9	5	26	14	52·9	55·6	53·8	
50	8	3	2	2	2	5	4										
50	21	2	1	1	1	3	2										
50	42	4	2	0	0	4	2										
45	22	3	2	1	2	4	4										
45	36	3	3	1	1	4	4										
45	37	3	3	2	1	5	4										
45	45	1	1	2	0	3	1										
42	23	2	2	2	0	4	2	18	20	12	5	30	25	111·1	41·7	83·3	
42	54	0	1	0	0	0	1										
40	3	3	2	0	0	3	2										
40	15	0	4	2	0	2	4										
40	44	3	2	2	1	5	3										
38	10	5	1	1	0	6	1										
35	18	2	2	0	1	2	3										
30	19	0	3	0	0	0	3										
30	46	4	1	0	0	4	1										
28	35	1	0	0	0	1	0										
28	20	2	0	0	0	2	0										
27	1	2	2	0	0	2	2										
26	51	2	1	0	0	2	1										
25	2	1	2	1	0	2	2	24	17	2	3	26	20	70·8	150	77	
25	38	1	1	0	0	1	1										
25	40	1	1	0	1	1	2										
24	11	0	1	0	0	0	1										
24	29	0	1	0	0	0	1										
22	16	1	0	0	0	1	0										
20	24	1	1	0	0	1	1										
20	55	1	0	0	0	1	0										
18	14	0	0	0	1	0	1										
		73	53	32	21	105	74							72·6	65·6	70·5	

No families have been omitted, in extracting from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' except those whose returns appear to be doubtful, or are valueless to the subject under review.

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65 years down to the youngest married women, if we would trace the abatement of infanticide.

847 It is much to be regretted that the statistics of Table No. 8 162 do not afford a record so complete as could be desired; even 847 to the degree I had fondly calculated on their doing, in the 163 course of our careful enquiries in the field. The instances, though certainly few in number, should distinctly have pointed to the change that was being effected in the course of forty-eight years; by enabling us to trace some sort of declining scale in the contrast of the sexes. The disproportion between males and females is indeed great in the Table, but it neither increases nor lessens in any form of sequence.

I have allowed the Table a place in these pages, despite its acknowledged deficiencies, and notwithstanding that the statistics, taken by themselves, give every appearance of the venerable practice being in full vigour, whilst I am fully convinced by the circumstantial evidences which I have given, that such is not the truth. I have done so, because it thus obtains a value, in showing that *the practice of infanticide may be extinct, whilst statistics indicate its actual prevalence:* that, in fact, the strange numerical difference in the sexes, which the census shows to amount to 25 per cent., implies with certainty, only that infanticide has *lately* been practised. If the custom were in its fullest possible force, consistent with the preservation of the race, the sexual divergence would be as great as 100 to 33·3; a proportion which allows one girl on an average, to every family—with less than which allowance, the race could not survive.

My readers will have noticed in Chapter XI. the suggestion, that a curious result of long continued infanticide, has been to create a male-producing variety of the human race.

165 It will be observed that in the Table the proportion of females who have died, to 100 males, is 65·6: whilst of those alive, it is 72·6. This discrepancy bears evidence to the inaccuracy of the statistics. Judging from the circumstances

[See p. 197, category 163 -- Analyst]

CHAPTER II.

THE TODAS.

CENSUS.—PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.—MODE OF LIFE.—RELIGION.—RITES AND CEREMONIES.—FUNERAL.—LANGUAGE.—HISTORY AND TRADITIONS.

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161 The Todas numbered 639 by the Census of the 15th November 1871. Considering the pains taken to ensure accuracy, we may accept this enumeration as approximately correct.

● 162 LIST* of Toda Population in the Nilagiri District according to the Final Census of 15th November 1871.

Village.	No. of Persons.			Mands occupied.	Mands unoccupied.
	Male.	Female.	Total.		
Todanâd - -	319	212	531	30	38
Peruganâd - -	55	49	104	5	3
Môkanâd - -	2	2	4	1	—
Koondahs - -	—	—	—	—	2
Total - -	376	263	639	36	43

161 * The foregoing list was taken from the original returns of the population of the Mands. When the returns were revised and tabulated, it was found that thirty-eight Todas, counted in the Ootacamund population, had been omitted, and that there were other slight inaccuracies. The revised list is as follows :—

Todanâd - - -	507
Peruganâd - - -	105
Môkanâd - - -	33
Ootacamund Town - -	38
Total - -	683

—*Editor.*

The total number of Todas, male and female, in Todanâd and Mekanâd in 1865 was officially* reported to be 194, in 45 villages.

Todas are divided into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz.:—

1. Dêvalyâl.
2. Tarserzhâl.

The first class consists of the Peiki clan, corresponding in some respects to Brahmans. The second of the four remaining clans, the Pakkan, Kutten, Kenna, and Todi.

The Peikis eat apart; and a Peiki woman may not go to a village of the Tarserzhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis.

The Peikis are not, however, like the Brahmans, recognised as superiors. On the contrary the other clans say, "Are they not our servants?"

Peiki women are called Kotti, those of the other clans Panni.

For a description of the men and women I quote from Dr. Shortt's *Tribes of the Neilgherries*, page 4.

"ETHNOLOGY.—*Toda Tribe.*—In physique the Todas are by far the most pre-
" possessing as a tribe, and it is this superiority in personal appearance, in conjunction
" with their singular costume, peculiar mode of wearing their hair, their bold and
" self-possessed department, and unique social and domestic institutions, that have
" at all times attracted for them the greatest share of attention and interest from
" Europeans. In complexion the Todas are of a dull copper hue,† not deeper or
" darker in colour than most of the inhabitants of the plains; but they are darker than
" the Badagas and many of the Kotas, a few of whom are met with fairer even than
" the Badagas. The Kurumbas and Irulas are not only darker than the Todas, but
" strikingly so to the eye. The Todas are tall in stature, well-proportioned, and in
" features partake of the Caucasian type:—*Head*, slightly elongated like the Hindoos;
" *forehead*, rather narrow and receding, measuring 2½ inches from the root of the nose
" to the growth of hair and scalp; *eyebrows*, thick and approaching each other; *eyes*,
" moderately large, well formed, expressive, and often intelligent; *irides*, varying in
" colour from hazel to brown;‡ *nose*, long, large, and well-formed, generally aquiline—
" in some slightly rounded, arched, or what is termed Roman, in others cogitative—
" measuring from root to tip 2½ inches, and height from base of ala to ridge 1½ inches,
" breadth of ala from side to side 1½ inches; *upper lip*, narrow; *lower lip*, thick or
" full—and face covered with a close thick moustache, whiskers, and beard, all of

* See letter from Principal Collector of Malabar, 9th February 1835.
Mr. Sullivan, referring to this letter in an official memorandum, dated 20th August 1835, says:—
" This does not tally with former returns, and is certainly incorrect. The Census of 1826 gave a
" total of 326 for the whole Hills; and there is no doubt of their numbers having increased, since
" Captain Harkness counted 300 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and
" girls at a Toda funeral."

† Agreeing in this respect with Paul Breese' Table, No. 28.

‡ The majority being intermediate with Nos. 1 & 2 of Paul Breese' Tables.

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

595 among them. When the girl becomes the wife of a boy, it is usually understood that she becomes also the wife of his brothers. In nearly every case at the present time, and in recent generations, the husbands of a woman are own brothers. In a few cases, though not brothers, they are of the same clan. Very rarely do they belong to
595 different clans. One of the most interesting features of
851 Toda polyandry is the method by which it is arranged who shall be regarded as the father of a child. For all social and legal purposes, the father of a child is the man
[843] who performs a certain ceremony about the seventh month of pregnancy, in which an imitation bow and arrow are given to the woman. When the husbands are own brothers, the eldest brother usually gives the bow and arrow, and is the father of the child, though, so long as the brothers live together, the other brothers are also regarded as fathers. It is in the cases in which the husbands are not own brothers that the ceremony becomes of real social importance. In these cases, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall give the bow and arrow, and this man is the father, not only of the child born shortly afterwards, but also of all succeeding children, till another husband performs the essential ceremony. Fatherhood is determined so essentially by this ceremony that a man who has been dead for several years is regarded as the father of any children born by his widow, if no other man has given the bow and arrow.
595 There is no doubt that, in former times, the polyandry
[847] of the Todas was associated with female infanticide, and it is probable that the latter custom still exists to some extent, though strenuously denied. There is reason to
● [162] believe that women are now more plentiful than formerly, though they are still in a distinct minority. Any increase, however, in the number of women does not

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? Those tell lies who say we laid it down before the opening of the buffalo-pen, so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears, and mouth with a cloth thus—here pantomimic action. It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The kelachi got a present of four annas for the deed." The old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance to a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not.* The Missionary Metz† bears out the statement that the Toda babies were killed by suffocation.

At the census, 1901, 453 male and 354 female Todas were returned. In a note on the proportion of the sexes among the Todas, Mr. R. C. Punnett states‡ that "all who have studied the Todas are agreed upon the frequency of the practice (of infanticide) in earlier times. Marshall, writing in 1872, refers to the large amount of female infanticide in former years, but expresses his conviction that the practice had by that time died out. Marshall's evidence is that of native assurance only. Dr. Rivers, who received the same assurance, is disinclined to place much confidence in

* Ellis. History of Madagascar.
† Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills. By a German missionary, 1856.
‡ Proc. Cambridge Philosoph. Soc., XII, 1904.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

847 178 native veracity with reference to this point, and, in view of the lack of encouragement which the practice receives from the Indian Government, this is not altogether surprising. The supposition of female infanticide, by accounting for the great disproportion in the numbers of the sexes, brings the Todas into harmony with what is known of the rest of mankind." In summarising his conclusions, Mr. Punnett notes that:—

[162] (1) Among the Todas, males predominate greatly over females.

(2) This preponderance is doubtless due to the practice of female infanticide, which is probably still to some extent prevalent.

(3) The numerical preponderance of the males has been steadily sinking during recent years, owing probably to the check which foreign intercourse has imposed upon female infanticide.

764 In connection with the death ceremonies of the Todas, Dr. Rivers notes that "soon after death the body is burnt, and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is etvainolkedr, the first day funeral. After an interval, which may vary greatly in length, a second [765] ceremony is performed, connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is marvainolkedr, the second day funeral, or 'again which day funeral.' The funeral ceremonies are [574] open to all, and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institu- 764 tion of the Todas, however, they have become known to 192 Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas hase kedu, the fresh or green

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[1] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kišker] (59, Kishkar),[2] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime. The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the abandoned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equivalent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

[1] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 19. 101–121), 117.

[2] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ɛ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [ɾ] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [ß] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English sh). [c] and [ɟ] are affricates of ts and dz type respectively. [ə] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [ɯ] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [aɯi] in one name is the diphthong [aɯ] plus the vowel [i].

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about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[1] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuanoːn] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuːsodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialise in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[2]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[1] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 307 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[2] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

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K 595 182 Ti 595 182 To 595 182

stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

To 174 595 182 162 K 174 595 182 162 Ti 174 595 182 162 To [847]

For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

To 114

It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

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To 114 reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you To 595 114 ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced T, 595 114 that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons K 114 595 are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

T; 162 792 To 847 162 As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

To 162 As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

To 162 this case. But as Rivers has very well pointed out—"which comes first?" It is the old problem of the egg and the hen. Do they kill off their little girls because they wish to remain polyandrous, or are they polyandrous because they have more men than women owing to the practice of female infanticide? If the latter, the fact that they can steal one another's women would be another solution to the problem, so that again the demographic reasons seem to be insufficient.

To 121 Ti 121 K 121 Being unsatisfied with these explanations of polyandry given by various authors, I decided to find out from the people themselves why they are polyandrous. I do not think this has been done before. Most people find out about polyandry and then they try to think up some explanation for it, but no one has gone and asked the people themselves. Of course, when I checked the scientific explanations against their ideas, I got various answers.

To 595 829 Ti 595 829 There was no other answer from the Todas about the Mahabarata than that which I have already discussed. As far as the economic reasons are concerned, the Tibetans did say yes, they lived in poor surroundings and that is why they are polyandrous. Demographic reasons (that there are more men than women) were never mentioned, while sociological reasons such as frequent traveling (one brother having to remain at home with the wife) were mentioned often. But I was struck by the fact that, of the 100 answers I got, at least 95 were quite different from all the scientific explanation

To 829 595 121 Ti 829 595 121 The usual answer I got was, "We are polyandrous so that our wives will not quarrel." The Todas even said that they are polyandrous because they do not want the *brothers* to quarrel with one another. And I must say that I found this explanation by the people themselves much more convincing, from a psychological point of view, than the academic explanations of certain authors. Basing my own view on the answers of the people themselves, I

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302 The men are profusely bearded and wear their hair "bobbed", in a heavy mop without a parting. The women, when adult and married, dress theirs in very many long curls hanging down to their shoulders. They are elaborately tattooed on chin, torso, arms, 304 knees and feet, in imitation of necklaces, bracelets and bangles. The face is done before maturity, the arms, knees and feet after, while the necklace is added after the first child is born. Both sexes wear the 291 same clothes except for the under-garments: a toga-like wrap, the *putkuli*, white with edges striped red and black and sometimes enhanced by embroidery of the same colours. The Todas must be one of the few peoples in the world among whom men and women are dressed alike.

161 For the last decade the tribe has been a dying one, and from the personal census which I took with Kanvarsathi [1] in 1949, it appeared that there were only 488 Todas left. I give this census below; it was taken according to the principal mads, the names of which are given here in Toda, and not in Badaga which is otherwise the usual practice in the Nilgiris (for the corresponding appellations, see Rivers, *The Todas*, Appendix III, p. 734 and following):

103 No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
●162 1	Karsh	12	8	0	20
2	Kishkiet	4	7	2	13
621 3	Kiishu	7	6	1	14
4	Melgarsh	12	11	7	30
5	Mign	5	4	1	10
6	Poln	5	5	1	11
7	Tör	3	4	1	8
8	Paletkwar	4	3	3	10
9	Or	5	4	0	9
10	Kuur	3	2	1	6
11	Arjmad	2	1	0	3
12	Penavarsh	7	2	1	10
13	Nattersh	12	8	11	31
14	Nirgodsh	2	1	1	4
15	Mörkor	3	2	4	9
16	Tögor	2	3	0	5
17	Apersgor	3	3	0	6
18	Pakharkwur	2	2	0	4
19	Kakhwurkh	13	8	3	24
20	Paghor	7	4	4	15

[1] My interpreter, see Appendix 2.

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No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
21	Patdhue	4	4	0	8
22	Karie	7	5	4	16
23	Norsh	11	13	4	28
24	Tavatkhiur	5	4	3	12
25	Kiudi	3	2	0	5
26	Kiur	2	2	4	8
27	Molkursh	5	3	0	8
28	Tivalkun	3	2	0	5
29	Pudmad	4	3	8	15
30	Artalkh	13	9	6	28
31	Tarar	13	10	8	31
32	Mortkiar	3	5	3	11
33	Konorj	4	3	3	10
34	Nirkh	3	2	4	9
35	Inkit	6	7	3	16
36	Kwordhoni	13	8	2	23
37	Pörgarsh	6	6	1	13
	Total	218	176	95 *	488

* Of which 44 were boys and 50 girls.

In 1952, the Toda population had further dropped to the all time low figure of 475, but at the time of writing (1954), it seems that in the last two years there have been 58 births and 21 deaths only, which now makes the total number of the tribe 512 – in marked progress away from the tragic trend towards extinction, which has been so pronounced since the days of Rivers. This author mentions a census taken in 1901 (*The Todas*, pp. 469 & 473), but since that date, no reliable figures are available. That was the reason for which I decided to make my own count of the Toda population. Kanvarsathi and I went round to every single *mad* in turn, and apart from recording persons present, obtained reliable information about those who were absent at the time of our visits.

Apart from Europeans, Indian Maharajas and their staffs, domestic servants and shopkeepers who have come up from the plains with them, and the Mysorean cultivators whose numbers are growing continually, other inhabitants of the Nilgiris, who are indigenous, like the Todas, are the Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. Their relations with the original Nilgiri tribe, who look upon themselves as the "Lords of the Soil", believing as they do, that they were created there by their